

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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## WHAT SHALL THE UNITED PARTY STAND FOR?

### AS TO PLATFORM AND FORM OF ORGANIZATION

The Question Asked by the Average Voter is Not "How Are You Organized?" but "What Do You Stand For?"  
Revised Platform Offered

By R. J. ROBINSON

I agree fully with Comrade Margaret Haile that it is time to discuss the important matters that will come up for consideration at the July convention, and am pleased to see that The Herald will devote a liberal share of its space to that purpose. There is no doubt whatever that, as Comrade Haile says, before the form of an instrument is decided there must be a clear conception of the use to be made of it, and I recognize the great importance of the matter of organization. In that regard I am most decidedly of the same opinion as The Herald that all existing forms of organization are "inadequate." I would go farther and say that they are all positive preventives instead of helps to the growth of Socialism. There is, beyond any question, a deal of room for improvement on that line. But, no matter what the form of organization may be, the question which will be asked by the average American voter in relation to it—whether employed on the farm or in the factory—is, "What does your organization stand for?" The question raises a point of much greater importance than that of the form of organization. The latter may be in every way the very best our collective wisdom could suggest, but if the platform or declaration of what it "stands for" is mere revolutionary-scientific phraseology, it may "stand," but it will not move forward; it will not attract voters and it is doubtful whether it will educate. To say in reply to an inquirer: "Our organization stands for Socialism," or "We stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system," means nothing to the average voter, who (let us not deceive ourselves) knows nothing about Socialism and, therefore, fails to share your enthusiasm about overthrowing a system. What the average man wants is your practical program. Unless he is anarchistically inclined—which he is not—he can be interested in a narration of the administration of public affairs by Socialists. Not what will be the fairy-like conditions of life in the co-operative commonwealth, but what you propose to better the conditions of life now, interests the practical average man. With this conviction, that what we stand for is more important than how we are organized, I have attempted to revise the platform of our party to conform to my ideas of what the convention should do in a matter of far greater concern to Socialists, and yet vitally related to it, than the question of organization.

R. J. Robinson.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon the equal political and economic rights.

Universal attention is directed to the industrial revolution of our times. In former years the tools of production were usually owned by the man who worked with them and who thereby became the owner of the product of his labor. Now, the machine, which is but an improved tool of production, is not owned by the laborer, but by the capitalist, who thus becomes the master of the product, and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist, being the master of the worker, is able to appropriate to himself an undue share of the product of his toil.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—capitalist and proletarian. The middle class, once the most powerful of this country, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic freedom.

Class conscious political action is the chief emancipating factor of the proletarian.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by the capitalist class.

Second—The aiding of the trade union movement as the main defensive measure calculated to improve the standard of living of the working class.

Third—The encouragement of voluntary co-operation wherever such will do away with the profits of the middle men and thereby serve to educate all wealth producers and further improve their condition.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

While we declare that the overthrow of the capitalist system is certain, because it is rapidly outgrowing its usefulness, the development of political and economic conditions in harmony with the demands and principles of Socialism must of necessity be gradual. We, therefore, consider it to be of primary importance for Socialist parties to elect Socialists to legislative and municipal bodies, in order that they may bring about all Socialist reforms possible for the immediate amelioration and improvement of the condition of the people.

As steps in this direction, we demand the following:

First—Revision of our federal and state constitutions, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people, irrespective of sex and property qualifications.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water works, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—We declare that all children up to the age of eighteen years shall be entitled to education and demand national legislation for the abolition of child labor.

Eighth—State or national insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Ninth—No more public land to be sold. All lands now held by the United States to be retained under strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation; grain elevators and warehouses for the use of farmers at cost, to be constructed by the nation; the union of postal, telegraph and telephone services and extension of the same for the use of farmers at cost; public credit to be used for the improvement of roads, irrigation and drainage; public ownership and control of forests, irrigation and water power; a system of insurance against loss to farmers caused by the elements.

Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

If there is one conviction that forces itself continually upon the minds of American Socialists more than another, it is that the movement has not yet found its best expression organizationally—that the existing forms of organization are entirely inadequate to requirements. There is very great diversity of opinion on the subject. The Herald will, therefore, devote this page to the discussion of plans for organization. Correspondents are requested to be as brief as they can and present their ideas on this important subject. Wanted—A Form of Organization: Who Has It?

#### Convention Notice

To Indiana Social Democrats:

In accordance with the wishes of the membership, expressed by referendum vote, a large majority being in favor of a state convention of the Social Democrats of Indiana, is hereby called to meet in Indianapolis at 2 o'clock p. m., Sunday, July 28, 1901, at Reichwein's hall, corner of Market and Noble streets.

The convention is called for the purpose of forming a more complete organization, to raise funds for propaganda, to familiarize the membership with the present and future needs of the party, and to make the acquaintance of each other, so that the work will be harmonious and effective.

The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, and each representative shall be entitled to one vote for each member not attending whose name is signed to his credential, provided that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the state to represent them, provided that the representative so selected shall hold credentials with the signature of members attached thereto.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as a representative who has not been a member of a branch in this state at least thirty days before the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the secretary of their respective branches.

The delegates upon meeting shall decide whether or not the state convention shall precede or succeed the national unity convention.

R. Greuling, Chairman.

Thomas Catton, Secretary.  
Indianapolis, Ind., June 16, 1901.

#### Lectures by Eugene V. Debs

Comrade Debs will speak on the Fourth of July at the annual Social Democratic picnic, Chicago. Other engagements for lectures are as follows: Madison, So. Dak., June 27; Aberdeen, So. Dak., June 29 and 30; Big Stone City, So. Dak., July 1; Kankakee, Ill., July 20; Shelbyville, Ill., Aug. 3; Urbana, Ill., Aug. 23; Nashville, Ill., Sept. 2 (labor day). The Fourth of July speech will be on "Progress." It will be new and red hot. Get tickets at The Herald office.

#### Fourth of July Picnic

The third annual picnic of the Social Democratic Party of Chicago will be given at Hoerdt's Grove, on the Fourth of July. We shall start early and stay late and have lots of fun all of the time. Eugene V. Debs will deliver an address on "Progress" in the afternoon. It will be worth your while to go and hear him. The grove is at Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. Get tickets at The Herald office, 126 Washington street.

The Herald takes pleasure in calling the attention of its readers to the announcement of the Debs Publishing Co., and recommending the fine list of books and pamphlets by some of the best-known writers in the movement. The list of publications has been greatly enlarged by the acquirement of the pamphlet business of the International Library Publishing Co. of New York. A special sale of Socialist literature announced in this paper affords an opportunity to get books at very liberal prices.

Duty To be active from now on to the Fourth of July to make the Third Annual Picnic of the party in Chicago a big, decided and memorable success. Tell everybody about it and hustle the sale of tickets. Hoerdt's Park is one of the favorite picnic resorts of Chicago. Big program—big crowd—big time for everybody.

### PRESENT SYSTEM DEFEATS PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

National Dues an Obstacle to Effective Organization—The "New Jersey" Plan and Voluntary Contributions Will Solve the Problem  
—A Suggestion Regarding Publications

By LOUIS L. BOGREN

It seems to me that in order to get the best possible form of organization we must first understand what would constitute an ideal form. We all agree as to the work to be done as outlined by Mrs. Margaret Haile. But the situation that confronts us now is the following: We are trying to organize into one body all the socialists of this country. At the last election we received 94,000 votes. All the 94,000 voters are surely anxious to educate the people in Socialism and are more or less ready and willing to do their share of the work. At present hardly one-tenth of that number is organized. Now, an ideal form of organization would be one that could get them all in. The best form of organization will be one that will get most in. Now, the question reduces itself: "How can we form an organization that will take in most of the Socialists in the country?"

For this purpose we must analyze our present form of organization, find out its shortcomings and see how we can improve them. I shall take our local branch for an example and compare it with our local Socialist vote. We now have about 25 members in good standing. Our straight Socialist vote last fall was 320. I may say that fully one-third of the people who voted a straight Socialist ticket were at one time or another members of our branch. Yet now the number is only about one-thirtieth. All the rest stand suspended. They never come up to the meetings. Still I am confident that a good many of them are interested in our work.

Now, we have never suspended any member for nonpayment of dues until it came to sending away our per capita tax, when we had to suspend him or else dig down our own pockets and pay the per capita tax for him. Many a time we have done the latter, but we could not do it all the time.

Again, our main purpose of organization is to spread Socialism. Now, we have not been doing very much in that line. Why? Mainly because our treasury is always empty and we cannot undertake to do anything that calls for some expense. Our local dues is 25 cents a month, which for 25 members gives us \$6.25 a month. From this we have to pay our hall rent \$4.00 and \$2.08 goes to our national headquarters. This leaves in our treasury 17 cents a month. You can imagine that very little can be accomplished for that sum. There can be no talk of engaging any speaker from a distance or sending any local speaker out into the state. In fact, whenever we wish to retain any speaker that happens to pass our way we must look for new sources to cover the expense. Some of the members cannot help thinking that in

the branch or local our very purpose of organization is defeated; that we would have accomplished more if we were organized as a local Socialist club and spend our per capita tax—the only money left to the branch after the hall rent is paid—on Socialist propaganda in our own vicinity. I have a number of times heard some one remark, "Why must I pay tribute to anyone in Chicago if I want to do something for Socialism?" I am satisfied that our number in our local branch would have trebled had we no per capita tax whatever to pay.

This is a matter of fact with our branch, and I believe also with a large number of other branches. I am confident that we could form a much stronger organization if we could only do away altogether with national dues. A national committee, composed of representatives from every state, need not get any salaries, just as our present executive board get none. It is true that we need all kinds of literature for farmers and for miners and for railroad men and for all other kinds of men, but for these we always have to pay if we want to get them, national dues or no national dues. We also want speakers, but again the local branch must pay the speaker's entire expense if it wants to secure one. The same is also true of an organizer. During a campaign we always had to rely mainly on voluntary contribution, so we might as well LEAVE IT ENTIRELY TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION.

As to the rest, I believe the New Jersey plan is a good one, with one exception. It provides for representation by states only. It seems to me it would be better to substitute instead a proportional representation, based upon the number of Socialist votes in each state—say, one representative to every thousand votes or fraction thereof.

In conclusion I wish to suggest a plan for a national organ. Most of the states would like to have a state official organ. I believe that we can have the two combined. Let a national organ be established on a subscription basis. Let it grant a certain space—say, a page or so—to any state, country or single organization, that will send in a certain number of subscriptions—say, one thousand. This would leave the entire paper except one page for articles on Socialism and news of national importance, to be under the control of a national editorial board. Every state shall appoint its editor for the state page to be entirely independent of the national editorial board.

Such an organ, I believe, could be easily made, not only support itself, but even to pay a handsome profit.

Omaha, Neb.

#### How's This for "Division"

Dr. Thomas of Washington, D. C., has recently issued a small pamphlet of twenty pages entitled "Civic and Social Reform," in which we find the following estimate of the amount paid for labor in producing the several articles mentioned:

"In every \$100 worth of hardware, \$24.17 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of furniture, \$23.77 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of boots and shoes you buy, \$20.71 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of men's furnishing goods, \$18.34 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of clothing, \$17.42 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of cotton goods, \$16.91 goes for labor.

"In every \$100 worth of worsted goods, \$13.55 goes for labor.

Since none of these things can be produced without labor, who gets the balance between labor price and selling price? Wherein is the justice in a system which forces laborers to create \$100 worth of the necessities of life and hand back to them but \$13.55? You who don't want to "divide up," how does that kind of a "divide up" suit you anyhow?

A Chicago judge has rendered an opinion sustaining the infernal atrocity of "blacklisting" workmen. In the palmy days of Jay Gould he knew to a dot how much it required to buy a judge—and it would be interesting to know if prices have advanced.

#### Ten Men in Control

It so happens that there are 2,050 railroad corporations in this country. It is difficult to state just how many systems there are, but something like 800 roads or corporations run the 2,050; and it is perfectly safe to say that ten men in the United States, whose names are familiar, control the whole 2,050 roads, either directly or indirectly. There are influential men outside of this group of ten powerful men—great railroad managers, able men, ornaments to any country—but, nevertheless, these ten men control the railroad business of the United States, and nearly all of them live in the city of New York. This is a matter which, it seems to me, is worthy of our consideration when discussing the economic trend toward state Socialism. The question might be asked whether it would not be just as well that instead of these ten men, who are in a way self-elective, the government itself should appoint ten commissioners in their place, and let us have that disinterested authorization of rates and that disinterested regulation of the traffic of the country which would come through such a board. The ten men are not subject to criticism. They are great men; they must be great men, and greater men than those that are called to conduct the affairs of the state itself.—Carroll D. Wright.

The McKinley idea is that the Filipinos, Cubans and Porto Ricans can be free without liberty.



# Social Democratic Herald

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## Social Democratic Party Vote 1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 97,024

It is giving the W. C. T. U. some anxiety to know that Luna, the beautiful Queen of Night, gets full as often as once a month.

The nations are asking: "What shall we do to be saved?" The answer is ready. Socialism will save them—nothing else meets the requirement.

A prominent member of a church in New York in scheduling his debts and assets as a bankrupt, found he owed \$40 for beer and \$30 for pew rent.

Now comes the great discovery that loads and frogs cannot live embedded in rocks. Thus, one by one, old fads and fancies wither under the noonday glory of science.

It is reported that Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa and the Dakotas will need 40,000 men during the wheat harvest season. Here's a chance for idle men who want to work.

Reports have it that Lake Erie is losing its water, which is not surprising, considering the amount required by J. Pierpont Morgan and others for capitalization purposes.

Rich men are kicking because they are used for "write-up or character studies," which floods them with begging letters. The story of Dives and Lazarus explains the situation.

McKinley's dynasty is in a bad way—a cousin in a Kansas poorhouse and a nephew charged with swindling an Indian in the interest of a favorite woman—is a die-nasty business.

There are now in course of construction in the city of New York more than twenty hotels, which will be ready to meet the rush of travel from the distant portions of our empire, soon to set in.

The Cuban constitutional convention so far has cost \$182,358, and is moving along in true American style. After the constitution is finished the Cubans will want a supreme court to knock it in the head.

Japan is of less area than California, but manages to support a population of 44,000,000. A little simple arithmetic will show that at the Japan rate, the United States could take care of a thousand million. Great country, this.

Gen. Bates informs the taxpayer of the United States that the salary of the sultan of Jolo, or Sooloo, is being paid regularly. The sultan is therefore able to improve his harem and buy more slaves—and has a high old time generally.

It is authoritatively stated that British capitalists own 25 per cent of the railroad shares of the United States. As a result American railroad employees are contributing largely to the support of King Edward VII. and his millionaires.

Gen. Fred Grant, commenting upon the great improvement in the civilization of the Filipinos under the fostering care of American guns, says the "niggers" now "wear their shirts inside of their trousers," and Mark Hanna says "it is a hopeful sign."

Hon. Charles Foster of Ohio, President Harrison's secretary of the treasury, who was to give \$1,000 to the Harrison monument fund, is a bankrupt, with debts amounting to more than \$750,000, and no assets worth mentioning. What is strange about the case is that ex-Secretary Foster has gone under at a time when McKinley's prosperity wave was rolling with resistless glory over the country. If "Calico Charley" had stuck to his "yard stick," for which nature designed him, his assets might have been larger than his debts.

The farmers of France, it is stated, have the greatest and best organized trust in the world, having 8,500,000 stockholders. It enables them to maintain the prices of their products and pay taxes.

The gold in the new mint at Philadelphia is protected by steel plates seven inches thick, while silver has only one inch of steel between it and the burglars. The explanation is that in stealing silver, owing to its bulk, the thieves would have to provide themselves with drays.

It is asserted by those who profess to know that the reason why Americans are ahead of the English and other Europeans in the manufacture of machinery is because they are constantly engaged in improving the efficiency of machines, while Europeans are content with what they have.

The wealthy women of England have silver models made for the cats and dogs. They are at first made of the kitten and pup size, and when the dear creatures die are enlarged to life size to keep in everlasting remembrance the pets. Gods! but high civilization is a great thing, anyway.

The treasury officials give out the cheering intelligence that each man, woman and child, black and white, in the United States has wealth amounting to \$1,200. Nevertheless, workingmen keep on striking to keep their dinner pails half full. Such rosy averages are demnition barren idealities.

Mark Hanna, at Buffalo, remarked that "the weal or woe of this country depends on men who conduct its commercial affairs." The trusts are doing that very thing—more and more every year—and the "woe" is several laps ahead of the "weal" already. Weal will never catch up until Socialism controls things.

Emperor William of Germany, by prohibiting the presence of newspaper reporters when he addresses his ragtag, confesses that the "pen is mightier than the sword." Right you are, Billy. The pen has a keener edge than a sword, a sharper point than a bayonet, and as a gun can shoot farther and faster than Krupp's artillery.

Hill of the great Northern Pacific railroad estimates the population of the United States in 1935 as 150,000,000, 100,000,000 of whom in the central west will be engaged in agriculture, which will be a good thing for the railroad in hauling products to the seaboard and return with the products of the eastern factories.

About the time that the representatives of British royalty reach Washington a distinguished native subject of Edward VII., Rikki-Tikki-Tari, will reach New York from India. He's a great snake eater, and Chauncey M. Depew will deliver the welcoming address at the New York Zoo, where Rikka-Tikka-Tari will be entertained.

Uncle Sam's navy is to have the largest battleship in the world. The Supreme court having decided that the empire has taken the place of the republic, McKinley is looking out for more heathen to be civilized by the benign influence of powder and providence, bullets and Bibles, guns and Gospel and other things in that line.

The labor element, represented by the British house of commons by Keir Hardy, John Burns and others, insist upon their right to wear such clothes and headgear as they may choose, utterly regardless of the protests of the aristocracy. Such nobility of independence may betoken a sign of coming events in labor affairs in old Hingland.

A United States senator, being charged with selling his vote, another senator came to his relief with an indignant denial. He said: "The senator charged with accepting a bribe met an outsider who bet a splendid residence, valued at \$50,000, that he would vote against a certain measure. The senator voted for the measure and won the bet. See?"

The executive department of the government on wheels was spectacular beyond anything known in Enrope, when crown-headed royalty and bald-headed nobility ramble for pleasure or business. Here it is a picnic, a constant fusillade of champagne corks, a deluge of oratorical froth and rabble-rousing cheering, while in Europe the excursionists are on the alert to dodge bullets.

It was the opinion of Henry Ward Beecher that the whole animal kingdom, by some mysterious impulse, is advancing to "higher excellence." Possibly, but so far there has been no perceptible improvement in wild beasts or reptiles. The wolf and the leopard are as fond of lambs and kids as ever, the asp has not discarded its fangs, nor the cockatrice improved his breath—and as for man, of whose future H. W. B. was hopeful, it may be said in too many instances, like his cloven-footed, forked-tailed master, he goes up and down in the earth seeking whom he may devour.

## Is Wage Right?

Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, has an article recently in the Philadelphia Record entitled "The Economic Trend Toward State Socialism." It is a remarkable document in many respects and deserves the close attention of all public-spirited men in general, and of Social Democrats in particular. The following is a digest of the paper:

The commissioner starts out with the assertion that he is neither a Socialist nor an economist, but a student and impartial observer. Respecting the science of national economy highly, he is not only free from any prejudice against Socialism, but rather believes that "Socialists are doing a measure of good." After this charitable remark Socialism is defined as a criticism, but not a system, not a philosophy. Industrial conditions constitute the basis of society, and the economic trend of these conditions toward Socialism is a vital problem of the day. Social Democracy is not state Socialism. Social Democracy is Hegelian in its philosophy, revolutionary in its politics and communistic in its doctrines. The Socialism of Social Democracy is as old as the human race. State Socialism is "seeking to be accompanied by some (?) of the things advocated by the Social Democrats, without revolutionizing government." The cardinal point of divergence between Marx and Lassalle is that the last was inclined toward state Socialism, while the first toward a revolutionary policy. There is no tendency toward Social Democracy, that means communism, but there is a tendency toward state Socialism, that means regulation by government of public utilities, industries, commerce, etc. The state is drifting into state Socialism unconsciously and consciously under the stress of necessity and out of consideration of expediency. The coinage laws, the patent system, the post-office system with its corollaries, the whole body of labor legislation, public pawnshops, municipal Socialism, boards of arbitration, compulsory state insurance of laborers, trusts, trade unions—all these and many other phenomena of public life and activity are signs of the times pointing toward state Socialism. "So there are three forces that we must recognize as involved in this economic trend toward Socialism (state Socialism?); the first, Socialism itself, the weakest of the whole; the next strongest is organized labor, but the third and most powerful force that is driving this and other countries rapidly into state Socialism is capital itself; and the capitalists, when you talk with them confidentially, do not hesitate to say that this is inevitably the result of their combinations." There is, however, nothing alarming in this tendency. Neither society as a whole, nor the single individual, will suffer from state Socialism, but rather profit in every respect. "Under the purest Socialism (even under Social Democracy, where everything is in common—"from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs"—the very essence of Social Democracy) some committee, some guiding power, some regulating device, must exist. Furthermore, in the most advanced Socialistic state there must be a use for some form of government, which demands of each individual the highest and the purest social service—not that which comes through direct Socialism, but that which involves the whole nature of man for the benefit of himself and of his neighbor, and under which the citizen, according to the old parable, will be like the ox standing between the altar on the one hand and the plow on the other, symbolizing his readiness for sacrifice or for labor."

The constant readers of The Herald will see at a glance where Mr. Wright is correct in his statements and where he is blundering and mistaken. It will, therefore, suffice to direct our attention to a few glaring misconceptions of the document. Socialism is not only a criticism, but a philosophy of life and a clear-cut system of conscious evolutionary activity. This has many times been conclusively demonstrated in this paper. Social Democracy is not necessarily Hegelian in its philosophy. It is true that Marx and Engels were Hegelians and used the so-called dialectic method of reasoning, but this was merely incidental and by no means essential to their work and trend of mind. There were many Hegelians who were in violent opposition to the teachings of Marx and Engels. Social Democratic ideas and principles have nothing in common with the Hegelian philosophy, as Bernstein, Kautsky and others have conclusively shown.

Is Social Democracy revolutionary in its policy? The reply to this question depends on what we understand by the term revolution. If Mr. Wright understands under that term an armed revolt, connected with bloodshed and destruction, our reply must be a most emphatic denial. The advanced wing of the Social Democracy, under the leadership of Bernstein and the S. D. P. of America, do not believe in a physical force policy and discard all jacobinic revolutionary jingoism and cant as antiquated rubbish. Social Democracy is collectivistic, but not communistic in its doctrines. That Socialism in the shape of race instincts or racism existed since the birth of the human race is correct.

But the Socialism of Social Democracy is something more than the crude racism of savages or semi-barbarians; it is a child of modern conditions, "with the whole culture of the age behind it." Mr. Wright's definition of state Socialism is vague and therefore no definition at all. Indeed, he claims that state Socialism is "seeking to accomplish some of the things advocated by the Social Democrats," but does not state which and why these and not the others. The statement that state Socialism accomplishes its task without revolutionizing government is rather queer from a statesman. Are blood and destruction essential to revolution? Is there no such thing as a peaceful revolution?

State Socialism may be a blessing or a curse, according to conditions. If the state shall be in the full control of the capitalist class, as it is at present, state Socialism will mean abject slavery and degradation to the proletariat and the death of our much-boasted Christian culture and civilization. If, however, the state shall be an ideal democracy, with no class rule, with perfect freedom and equality of opportunities to each citizen, state Socialism will mean Social Democracy. The question, then, is: Is there any tendency toward state Socialism? This question did not seem to occur to Mr. Wright. If it is true, as we are firmly convinced, that both tendencies—the tendency toward the democratization of the state and socialization of industries—work together in our modern society, we feel justified in our view that the United States commissioner of labor is wrong and right at the same time. He is right in his diagnosis of the tendencies of our time toward Socialism; he is wrong in his ideas about state Socialism as opposed to Social Democracy.

## Bishop Potter

Henry Codman Potter, bishop of New York, has under his charge the "richest diocese in America." He comes of a long line of aristocratic prelates, his grandfather and father having been bishops of the Episcopal church. The present bishop of New York is often referred to in the papers as the champion of good government and solicitor for the welfare of the poor of the city of New York, but it turns out that he is now engaged in building the cathedral of St. John, which is to cost \$50,000,000, and which, when it stands complete in architectural grandeur, will equal anything of the kind to be found in all Europe, not excepting St. Peter's at Rome.

This fact, authoritatively stated, signifies that Bishop Potter is not a religious man in the Christ sense of the term, but a sectarian aristocrat, a hundred carats fine, a Kohinoor church dignitary, whose pious pomp is equal to anything of that sort since the worshippers of idols built the temples of Diana at Ephesus—one of the seven wonders of the world.

This being true, the conclusion is irresistible that Bishop Potter is not, level-headed; that he does not comprehend the fact that every dollar expended upon the cathedral of St. John is paid by the toiling people, and practically thrown away, since, according to St. Stephen, "the most high dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

If, instead of collecting \$50,000,000 to build a cathedral to rival such monuments of the decayed civilization of Europe, within the shadows of which men, women and children perish in wretchedness and despair, he were engaged in applying the vast sum in relieving the woes of the poor in the city of New York, he would be engaged in a philanthropic work which would give him a monument to live in the memory of the people and perpetuate his name as the "great bishop," when the steeples and pillars, dome and walls of the cathedral of St. John are reduced to dust or remain only in ruins, as "Potter's folly."

A moment's reflection suffices to impress the mind that \$50,000,000 devoted to mitigating the woes of the poor of New York in numerous practical ways would do more for the decrease of crime than a hundred palatial cathedrals—more than all the vitualistic flummery ever written or recited since religious orders were established and creeds and dogmas formulated. It would build hospitals and homes, schools and retreats for the weary, the infirm and forlorn, and make New York a city as famed for cleanliness and virtue as it is for crime, with all its detestable brood of vices.

Bishop Potter and his aristocratic flock, of whom he is a "chosen friend and spiritual guide," do not see things in the light of reason, of religion "pure and undefiled," or of common sense, and as a result, the cathedral of St. John will receive the \$50,000,000, while the poor will continue to suffer and Bishop Potter pose as a philanthropist.

A great many men who are affiliated with the old parties would be Socialists if they could get out of their political environments. In old know-nothing times a fellow got caught in the trap and wanted to get out. Consulting a friend, he was told that he could "back out," "crawl out," "dig out," "cuss out" or "fight out." If a man wants to get out of the old capitalistic parties and be free he will find a way to perform the feat.

## Science and Suicide

Scientists in convention have decided that under certain conditions suicide is not only justifiable, but the right thing to do. So far as the record goes, no one, not even Christ or his apostles, ever contended that Judas made a mistake by committing suicide. Judas was a thief and set an eminently proper example for that class of infernal traitors to confidence.

It was furthermore held by the scientists that suicide in the present age is attributable in a large measure to the deterioration of the civilized races of the earth, which care less about the improvement of human beings than they do about the breed of domestic animals, horses, mules, cattle, sheep and swine. They declared that semi-idiot and people tainted with insanity, scrofula and other diseases intermarry until degeneracy, with all of its attending woes, is widespread and increasing.

This is a terrible arraignment of our much-vaunted civilization, but it is supported by incontrovertible statistics. It is held that there is not a royal family in all Europe that is not tainted with insanity, and the same is true in a large measure of the aristocratic classes. Emperor William of Germany is generally believed to be crazy. King Edward of England is rated as a specimen of mild idiocy, and the emperor of Russia is afflicted with brain troubles of a serious character, and so on throughout the list in which insanity is more or less apparent.

In the United States it is held that insanity is increasing in the ranks of the rich, consequent upon the eagerness to pile up fortunes, regardless of the methods employed, and the recent panic on the New York stock exchange is everywhere characterized as a "craze," an outcropping of a certain phase of national insanity. And the exploiter, J. Pierpont Morgan, in organizing a billion-dollar trust, is referred to as an insane attempt to control the iron and steel interests of the world.

In this connection it is pointed out that William McKinley has demonstrated in various ways that he has wheels in his head, and that he is unreliable; that his imperial ambition has developed a form of insanity which, if not controlled by vigilant watchfulness, may entail upon the country consequences of the most serious character. But when it is asked, Who shall watch McKinley? everybody is at sea. Shall it be congress? There is not a level-headed man in the country who does not regard congress as a crazy mob, whose insanity has set aside the constitution and is seeking to sail the ship of state without compass or rudder.

The only pure-blooded people to be found are the working classes. Free from the luxurious slavery of the rich, and developing a sturdy manhood, they are coming to the front physically and mentally prepared for the work which destiny will demand of them in creating better government and a better civilization than the scientists in convention mapped out in their deliberations.

The United States, by conquering the Philippine islands, secured 63,465,415 acres of public land. The 10,000,000 natives owned only 4,040,000 acres. The uncivilized tribes have no rights the empire will respect. Congress and Emperor William, under the decision of the Supreme court, will not be able to distribute land in the Philippines where it will do the most good, and a landed aristocracy will be created.

The duke and duchess of York and Cornwall in touring round the world, following the martial airs of old Hingland, will visit New York and Washington city. They should be taken to Bunker Hill, Yorktown and New Orleans. These old battlefields would sharpen their appetites and aid their digestion. A trip to Mount Vernon would supply lots of food for reflection. These representatives of British royalty should be crammed full of American history, and while in Washington they should be made acquainted with the vandalism of British soldiers, who, from pure cussedness, burned the city in 1814.

Being now a "world power," and an empire besides, the United States is bound to have war with other "world powers." That is what empires are for. Germany wants to invade South America and has her eye on Brazil, but the "Monroe doctrine" stands in the way of her ambition. Admiral Dewey is of the opinion that our next war will be with Germany, which is building a big navy, and advises the United States to be prepared. As a result we are to have four more ships—two battleships and two cruisers, all armor plated, to uphold the Monroe doctrine. These ships will cost about \$15,000,000, and labor will supply the funds.

Pass Word That the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago—to eclipse all others—will be held at Horner's Park on the Fourth of July. The park is at Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. It is one of the most beautiful resorts in the city. Get tickets now for your family, and make no other appointments for the day.



# JULES GUESDE'S REPLY TO JAURES

It took this first break-up, it took the abandonment of its class ground by a portion of the proletariat, in order that, at a given moment, one could hold out as a victory the entrance in a cabinet of a Socialist who could not dictate the law, of a Socialist who had to be a prisoner there, of a Socialist who was there but a hostage, of a Socialist whom Waldeck-Rousseau, a very good tactician, picked out of the ranks of the opposition in order to serve him as a cloak, as a buckler, so as to disarm the Socialist opposition in the chamber. (Cheers.) So as to prevent the workingman from firing, not only upon Mr. Waldeck-Rousseau, but also upon Gallifet, the butcher of the Commune, seeing that between Gallifet there was the body of Millerand.

Ah! You say and you conclude that you were right in your Dreyfus campaign because it conducted Millerand into the Waldeck-Rousseau-Gallifet cabinet. I, on the contrary, hold that in that is found the definite condemnation of that campaign. It sufficed to cause the Socialist party to partially abandon for the first time its class ground; it sufficed to bring about an alliance with a fraction of the bourgeoisie and that, once upon that slippery slope, the party may roll down to the bottom. For the sake of a work of individual justice and redress, the party has mingled with the hostile class, and behold it now carried along and constituting a common government with this class.

And it is this sort of class struggle which thus winds up in the co-operation of the classes; it is this novel form of co-operation, that, uniting in the same government a man who, if he is a Socialist, must pursue the overthrow of capitalist society, with other men, and these a majority, whose only object is the upholding of the identical social system—it is this that is given to us as a triumph of the proletariat, as a sign of the power acquired by Socialism! In a certain measure, yes, as Lafrague said. It is because Socialism has become a power and a danger to the bourgeoisie, whom it frightens, that this class seeks to introduce itself into the ranks of the organized proletariat in order to divide and annul it. But this is not the conquest of public powers by Socialism, it is the conquest of a Socialist and his followers by the public powers of capitalism.

Moreover, comrades, we have seen what I, for one, hoped never to see; we have seen the working class, which has yet its republic to build, summoned to mount guard around the republic of its masters, condemned to defend what is called capitalist civilization.

I had believed that, when a superior civilization rose above the horizon; that, when this civilization depended upon a proletariat, responsible for its own and the general emancipation, it was upon that superior civilization that one should obstinately fix his eyes. I believed that the duty was to be ready to trample under foot that pretended "order" of today, so as to make room for the other.

It seems I was mistaken. It seems that the great bourgeoisie of 1789 should have preoccupied themselves about the defense of the Ancien Régime, under the pretext of reforms realized in the course of the eighteenth century. I believed that they had marched upon that regime, that they had bowled down everything, the good along with the bad, the bad along with the good. I believed that the proletariat would not be less revolutionary, that, in its turn, a providential class, called upon to realize, to create a new society, a new society that would emancipate, no longer a few, but all, it?

There is nothing changed, and there can be nothing changed in modern society, so long as capitalist property shall not have been suppressed, and shall not have made place for social property, that is to say, for your property.

This idea, which it is now twenty and odd years we have introduced into all the workingmen's brains of France, must remain the only directors of the conquered brains, and must be extended to those brains where the light of Socialism has not yet shone. That is our exclusive task. The task is to recruit, to increase the column of assault, which would have no other impulse than its class egotism, because its interests are one with the interests of all, and are the definitive interests of the whole human species!

The new policy that is being heralded in the name of the class struggle would, on the contrary, consist in organizing the proletariat apart, upon its own ground, and then forthwith carrying it like a ready-made army to the first best bourgeois general staff. At the very time that, abandoned by its wage earners, who were leaving its political ranks, guided by their awakened class-consciousness, the bourgeoisie felt itself lost. We are now being told that it is our duty at all times to march to its succor every time that an injustice is done, every time that a blot comes to obscure its sun.

We will have to carry the bourgeois Bastille, as the feudal Bastille was carried.

Woe unto us if we allow ourselves to be halted along that route, awaiting, as for an aim, the alleged reforms, which it is in the very interest of the bourgeoisie to throw from time to time to the appetite of the masses, and which are not and can never be anything but tubs to the whale. We are and can only be a party of revolution, because our own emancipation of humanity can be accomplished only revolutionarily.

To turn aside from this struggle, comrades, is to become the toy of the capitalist class of today, who know full well, as Millerand said at Lens, that the wage system is not for all time; who know full well, as Deschanel repeated like an echo in Bordeaux, that the wages system is a provisional phenomenon, but who threw back the disappearance of this last form of slavery to I do not know what date, a more distant one than the paradise of religions themselves, which at least must follow immediately upon your death. You will not allow yourselves to be paid with this money of promises, you are now too class-conscious, too strong.

But Jaurès went further. He endeavored to assimilate the electoral action of Socialism which seizes the ballot as a means of battle, with the cabinet action of a Socialist, himself seized as minister by a governmental bourgeois. He went even further. He pretended that by installing by your own forces Carret in the city hall of Roubaix and Delory in the city hall in Lille, you had authorized Millerand to accept a crumb of power from the class against which you are obliged to struggle until final victory is achieved. On the other hand, he cited to you certain words from Liebknecht that are claimed to have condemned in 1869 the entrance of Socialists in bourgeois parliaments, when that same year he allowed himself to be carried with Bebel into the reichstag of the Confederation of North Germany. He reminded you that Liebknecht, likewise, penetrated into the landtag of Saxony when he had to take an oath there, and that Liebknecht said: "If we are not able to overcome these paper obstacles we shall never become revolutionists."

What relation can one possibly establish between these two situations? In order to enter the reichstag of the Confederation of North Germany one had to be taken there by the organized workingmen comrades; one had to enter by the opened breach of the Social Democracy; one was the founder of the powers of his class. To enter the landtag of Saxony, it is true, an oath had to be taken; but that oath, like the one which Gambetta had to take to the empire, did not alter the fact that it was an enemy who was introduced into the elective assembly, like a bullet fired from the popular cannon. And you venture to maintain (turning to Jaurès) that the conditions would be the same with Millerand accepting a cabinet portfolio from Waldeck-Rousseau? Is it, perchance, the proletariat that at the last election struck so heavily from the shoulder that the breach was made through which Millerand passed? Such a thesis is not maintainable. He entered the government upon the invitation of the governmental bourgeoisie. (Loud applause and cheers.) He entered in the interest of the governmental bourgeoisie, which otherwise would never have invited his co-operation. It is possible to constitute a cabinet even more strongly in defense of the republic than the one we have enjoyed during the last eighteen months, without a Socialist participating in it. You have spoken of the bourgeois cabinet; there was no Socialist in that cabinet; and that cabinet, it may be said, performed a more republican work than the present cabinet. As a proof among many, the law of inheritance may be cited, it was carried then, but found no favor with the government for the defense of the republic, which counts a Socialist in its midst and which has dropped part of the reforms then advanced. (Cheers.)

Comrades, the day when the Socialist party, the day when the organized proletariat would understand and practice the class struggle under the form of sharing political power with the capitalist class, that day there would be no more Socialism; that day there would no longer exist a proletariat capable of emancipation; that day the workingmen would have become again what they were twenty-two years ago when they responded either to the call of the opportunist bourgeoisie against the monarchic bourgeoisie, or to the call of the radical bourgeoisie against the opportunist bourgeoisie, they would then be merely a class, a party of domesticated followers, without a reason for their existence, and without a future.

I recall a republican party of which I once was a member, the old republican party, which refused the sort of compromise that it is today attempting to impose upon the Socialist party. The empire, having appealed, really appealed, to one of the Five, to Emile Ollivier, although the attempt was then to transform—a possible thing—the

Socialist empire into a liberal empire, although the price of this collaboration of a republican with a government of Bonaparte was the freedom of assembly and of the press, and the right of organization by labor, all this notwithstanding, the republican bourgeoisie, more uncompromising, holding over its elected members a more complete control, did not hesitate unambiguously to brand Mr. Emile Ollivier a traitor.

And shall we then have neither the energy nor the conscience of the republican bourgeoisie in the closing days of the empire? This episode of the past is not without significance. I mention it for a purpose. What I wish to bring out is that the republican party under the empire, like the Socialist party today, said:

"The republic must be reared, but we must march to that goal fighting." This spirit did not last long. A man turned up; it was Gambetta. I recollect that in 1876, at Belleville, he uttered the following words: "I know but two ways to arrive at one's goal, by negotiating or by fighting; I am against fighting."

That was the sentence of death of the old republican party. Opportunism means republican sterility. It was a republican miscarriage, incapable in thirty years to reach even the political reforms which are today accomplished facts beyond our borders, in the United States of America, or the Helvetic republic. I repeat it, it was the death of the republican bourgeoisie party. Well, now, today, we—a party of a class, a Socialist party—find ourselves with still greater responsibilities, with necessities that impose themselves still more imperatively upon us, facing the identical two policies—the one predicated upon the capture of political power by fighting for it; the other pursuing this capture of power, politically, fragmentally, man by man, portfolio by portfolio, by means of negotiations.

We are not in favor of negotiation. The class struggle forbids class commerce. We want no commercialism there. You comrades of the shop and mill, proletarians who have a mission to fulfill, the highest ever imposed upon a class, the day you will accept the new method that day you will not only have trafficked in dupes, but you will have blown cold upon the great hope of emancipation which today has placed the working world on its feet.

That in which today lies the force, the irresistibility of the Socialist movement, is the communion of all the organized workingmen, following across the most diverging governmental forms, the identical goal by the identical means, to wit, the economic expropriation of the capitalist class through its political expropriation.

This Socialist unity, born of the same economic conditions, would be forever broken the day when, ceasing to rely upon yourselves, you would subordinate your action to a fraction of the hostile class, which will never join us but to tear us away from our true and necessary field of battle.

The revolution that is incumbent upon you is impossible but in the measure in which you remain yourselves, class against class, neither recognizing and stubbornly refusing to recognize, the divisions that may exist in the capitalist world. Economic competition is its law of production; political competition, or political divisions carefully raised, permit us to prolong its miserable existence.

If the capitalist class constituted only one political party, it would have been definitely crushed at the first defeat suffered at the hands of the proletariat. But they have divided in monarchist bourgeoisie and republican bourgeoisie in clerical bourgeoisie and free-thinking bourgeoisie, so that a defeated fraction could always be replaced by another fraction of the identical hostile class.

It is like a ship with compartments, in which one compartment may be leaky, and nevertheless continues to float insubmersible. That ship is the galleys of the proletariat on the benches of which you row and pine, and on which you will pine and row forever and a day unless as, without distinction of pilot the ship that carries the capitalist class and its fortune, that is to say, the profits realized out of your misery and your servitude, shall have been sunk forever. (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers.)

(Continued)

Salisbury, the British premier, in a recent speech about the South African war, deplored the great number of "young lives"—British, of course—that has been "quenched," and the "splendid hopes cut short," and added that there had been no "suggestion of wrong on the part of the empire." That is false, but were it true, it would not obscure one of the greatest crimes in British history, the massing of the power of the British empire to murder liberty and to murder thousands of Boers because they demanded liberty and independence.

Bring And give them a day's outing at the Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, July Fourth. It will be at Haver's beautiful park, Western Belmont and Cuyahoga avenues. There will be lots of fun for the boys and girls, and they will be estimated from the age of twelve accompanied by parents.

It gives us pleasure to announce that we have bought out the entire pamphlet department of the International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane Street, New York, said company having concluded to confine itself to the publishing of bound books, so as to deal more largely with foreign translations and keep pace with the rapidly developing literature in the field of social and economic science.

The purchase includes the entire stock of pamphlets, plates and copyrights and embraces the following high-grade publications:

A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches; by Tom Mann. Price, 5 cents. Socialism and Slavery; Answer to Herbert Spencer; by H. M. Hyndman. Price, 5 cents. What Socialism Means; by Sidney Webb. Price, 5 cents. What is Capital? By Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 5 cents. Real Socialism; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. Socialism: A Reply to the Pope's Encyclical; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. Object of the Labor Movement; by Johann Jacoby. Price, 5 cents. The Living Wage; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents. The State and Socialism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents. Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents. The Workingman's Program; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents. The Right to Be Lazy: Being a Refutation of "The Right to Work" of 1848; by Paul Lafargue. Price, 10 cents. Wage-Labor and Capital; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 10 cents. Open Letter to the National Labor Association of Germany; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents. Science and the Workingmen; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 25 cents. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; by Karl Marx; with portrait of Marx as frontispiece. Price, 25 cents. The Civil War in France; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 25 cents.

If Socialist editors, to whom this announcement may come, will kindly give it such notice as space will allow, we shall be glad to reciprocate as opportunity may permit.

To all Socialist branches, agents and speakers ordering in quantities, we will make a liberal discount from above prices, prepaying charges.

We will make the complete set of above pamphlets (17) to one address, prepaid, for \$1.25. Address Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

## The Russian Revolution

There can be very little doubt that Russia is just now in the pangs of childbirth. A new era is being born to her out of the womb of her time—in torrents of blood and in frightful pains, but full of promise and joy. Long has she been heavy with that child. For nearly forty years—since the liberation of the serfs—the fructifying and ripening processes have been going on in the mysterious seclusion of her body, and it is only now, in spite of the occasional spasms in the seventies and in the eighties, that the fully formed child is going to appear. That child is the revolution. For the first time in her modern history Russia has seen immense and mixed crowds of her people parading the streets of several towns in open and conscious revolt against the authorities, and for the first time she has thus had the opportunity to experience what an outbreak of a popular movement is like.

The occasion for this outbreak was given, as all the world knows by now, by a repetition of the so-called students' riots, or, rather, by the repetition, on a larger and more than ever shameless scale, of the brutal measures usually taken for their suppression. The lot of the Russian student is one of the most unhappy on earth. "We have come," says a student manifesto of 1887, "we have come to the university with a thirst for knowledge and intellectual development, with an ardent desire to place ourselves at the service of our country, and we have been met coldly and harshly. In the person of the reorganized inspection with its numerous staff and satellites we have been surrounded by a police which penetrates into our very aulac and traces our least steps. Every attempt at association in our midst is subjected to ruthless persecution. Our scientific labors are placed under every conceivable restriction. Our best professors are being expelled. The new educational program simply strives at substituting for scientific knowledge casual knowledge, dead or adulterated science. The rule of ignorant and brutal force has turned the university into a barracks where there is no room for independent activity, where the least manifestation of honest and free thought is suppressed, where individuality and convictions are sacrificed on the altar of dead scholasticism."—London Justice.

A Paris newspaper, discussing the stock-gambling craze in New York, simply remarks: "France and the United States are of two different worlds, civilizations and minds." Some years ago France had her Panama gambling craze, involving the financial ruin of thousands, and in which many Frenchmen of high repute lost their character as well as their francs. So it seems, after all, France and Yankee-brotherhood belong to the same world, the same civilization and have in common much of the same mind and misery.

**CALIFORNIA**  
Labor Branch, San Francisco, holds public evening every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing Oct. 4. Admission free.  
Public meeting (for workingmen) every Thursday evening.  
Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 2 cents per month.  
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.  
Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 1 o'clock, at Westminster Hall, 1244 Spring street. J. A. Bruner, sec'y.  
Branch No. 3, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday in each month, at 1 o'clock P. M., at 117 Turk street. Agitation meeting on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August P. Mayer, secretary, 205 Folk street.

**COLORADO**  
Branch No. 2, Golden, meets every Sunday at 7:30 P. M., at City Hall. Chas. LaCamp, secretary.

**CONNECTICUT**  
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 3 P. M., at F. Schaffers, 109 Main street, Hartford. Louis Murray, secretary, 85 King street, Hartford.  
Branch No. 4, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 70.

**ILLINOIS**  
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 21 Dearborn street.  
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Tenth ward, Chicago, meets first Saturday in the month at Nagel's Hall, 205 Blue Island avenue. Secretary, Albert Zeman, 701 S. Morgan street.  
The Southwest Side German Branch of Chicago meets second and fourth Saturdays, 8 P. M., at Ed Gottke's Hall, 97 Blue Island avenue (near Lincoln street). Secretary, E. Pusch, 223 S. Wood street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 8 P. M., in Dauber's place, 109 W. 12th place. Joseph Dauber, secretary.  
Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Piarik's Hall, corner Center avenue and 16th street. James Rohak, secretary, 415 Throop street.

Branch No. 5 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 A. M., at 202 Lincoln street. J. A. Ambros, secretary, 420 Wood street.  
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets second and fourth Fridays at Lundquist's Hall, 41st and Morgan streets. Chas. Wistrand, secretary, 624 Aberdeen street.

Branch 6 (Swedish) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Kabet, secretary, 117 Stanwood avenue.

**INDIANA**  
Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month, at Kichwald's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Catton, 105 Warren avenue.

**IOWA**  
Branch No. 1, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman; Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 181.

**KENTUCKY**  
Branch 6, Newport, meets first Thursday evening at 8 P. M., and third Sunday afternoon, at Sanfilas Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central avenues. Address A. L. Nagel, 29 W. Second street.

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, organizer, 27 Jackson street.  
Branch No. 2, Roxbury, meets at 14 Warren street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

**MICHIGAN**  
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 P. M., at 10 W. Main street. Is the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

**MINNESOTA**  
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gasswein, on Main street. A. Kingsbury, secretary.

**MISSOURI**  
Branch No. 2, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 P. M., at Haldermann's Hall, 101 South Seventh street.

**MONTANA**  
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8 P. M., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, secretary, 71 E. Park street.  
Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sunday each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

**NEW JERSEY**  
Branch No. 4, Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1205 Kaighn's avenue.  
Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 P. M., at Hotel Italia, 24 W. Houston street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 34 Edmund street.

**NEW YORK**  
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 415 Grand street, Windsor Hall.  
East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 1230 East Broadway. L. Kojman, secretary, 141 Norfolk street.  
Branch No. 4, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 P. M., at 10 Moore street. Visitors welcome. Committee desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 120 Boorum street.  
Branch No. 10, meets every Friday at 8 P. M., at 220 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 16 Henry street.

**OHIO**  
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richellon Hall, southeast corner 5th and Plum streets, every Sunday at 8 P. M. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Thos. McKenna, secretary, 23 Laurel street.  
Branch 5 (Bohemian) meets every second Sunday at 1 P. M., in T. J. Cook's Hall, cor. Bridge and Belmont streets. Secretary, Frank Holub, Bellaire, Belmont Co., Ohio.

**OREGON**  
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 3d and Flinders streets. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortisch, secretary.

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 P. M., at 23 S. Third street. Rose Slobodkin, Treasurer, 215 Pine street.  
Branch No. 3, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meets every Sunday morning at 1 P. M., Club Rooms, at 23 S. 3d street. Organizer, M. Gillis, 41 Reed street.  
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 P. M. in Social Labor Hall, No. 23 E. 2d street. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 723 2d street. Public invited.

**WISCONSIN**  
Milwaukee Central Committee, R. D. F., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner 6th and Chestnut streets.  
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, 4th street, between State and Prairie, every Thursday evening.  
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturdays in Goethe's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay avenues. Frank Liebsch, secretary.  
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Keller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown streets. George Moser, secretary, 24 1/2 3rd street.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard street and 24th avenue. J. Lucel, an Orchard street, secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 21st and Center streets, at 8 P. M. Secretary, C. Kasper, 102 2nd street.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 10 Clark street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 22 1/2 1st street.

Branch No. 21, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays at Fremont House. Edgar F. Lindner, secretary.

**WEST VIRGINIA**  
Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 123 Market street. H. A. Laska, organizer.

Any reader of The Herald who would like to do something for Socialism and Labor, don't forget to be reminded that he can get information from the



# BUILDING OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

It Will Be Done, Not by Any Sudden Transformation, but by Competent Public Officials with Special Technical Knowledge of Conditions Necessary for the New Order

By LEONARD LADOFF

Evolution consists mainly in progressive organization and co-ordination of forces. The degree of complexity of an organism is an indication of its place on the evolutionary ladder. The more complex the higher it stands. Organization and co-ordination are the most economic modes of utilizing natural forces. Indeed the higher a plant or animal is from the evolutionary point of view, the more minute and thorough is the division of labor among its various organs, the greater their mutual interdependence, the more specialized their functions.

This is equally true in respect to the organization called human society. The more advanced a social organization is the more minute and thorough must be the division of labor among its members, the more specialized their functions. A striking illustration of this fact is furnished by the industrial system of production of modern society, as compared with that of primitive societies of savages or semi-barbarians. The advantages of co-ordination of the results of division of labor and its specialization for any kind of social activity are obvious. The armies of all civilized nations are managed strictly in accordance with that method. But even in the field of mind activity, as, for instance, in natural sciences, division of labor or specialization goes hand in hand with co-ordination or generalization. A Chas. Darwin presupposes a host of well-trained specialists diligently pursuing minute investigations, observations and experiments in their particular field of knowledge. The origin of castes, classes and other social sub-divisions is traceable to the ever-increasing division and specialization of social labor from time immemorial to our day.

On these facts of social evolution Socialist thinkers build their system of society. Socialism represents a conscious endeavor so to organize and co-ordinate the forces inherent in society as to attain the highest possible physical and spiritual welfare of the greatest possible number of its members. Socialists are conscious evolutionists. Lester Ward says: "Society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter." The same authority defines the aim of dynamic sociology as "the organization of happiness," and claims that: "The dynamic department of psychology becomes also that of sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society." Human mind must modify and direct the evolutionary powers of society in order to "organize happiness."

Socialist writers devote a great deal of their attention to purely economic problems. There are, however, quite a few fields of social activity not elucidated sufficiently from the Socialistic point of view. One of these is the general technical understructure of Socialism and the administration of public affairs in particular. In European countries the administrative functions rest on the broad shoulders of a special class—the bureaucracy. In the United States we have for that purpose a host of public officials. The European bureaucracy is (with the exception of Russia) competent, but meddlesome. The officialdom of the United States is notorious for its incompetence and corruption, due to the debasing system of rotation of office, based on the principle "to the victor belongs the spoils." The so-called civil service reform has only recently been introduced in a half-hearted, fragmentary and crude manner. Indeed, the two old parties exist only for all there is in politics—i. e., for the spoils, and it would be rather too sanguine to expect from them the introduction of an honest and able measure doing away with the political spoils, the very sub-stratum on which they live.

The fundamental principle of civil service reform—that the public is entitled to the best services of the best men in the community—is, however, sound and entirely in accord with Socialistic ideas about the administration of all public affairs by specialists, educated and trained for that purpose in special schools. The state maintains special schools for the purpose of providing the army and navy with competent officers. Why should not the state do the same for the civil department of administration? Society is certainly more benefited by the peaceful civic activity of its administration than by the development of the destructive arts of war. It is true that as long as the capitalistic state of society exists the Socialistic ideal of administration of public affairs by specialists cannot be realized in all its perfection and purity. In the first instance, the capitalistic state will only occasionally attract to public service some of the best members of society. The danger of a hereditary caste of officials fostered by the state can be entirely eliminated only in a perfect

Social Democracy. Besides this, only a perfect Social Democracy will present a real equality of opportunities to all its citizens to choose and prepare themselves for any kind of social activity. These and similar considerations, however, ought not to deter Socialists from the support of the civil service reform, even in its present mutilated and embryonic shape, on account of its principle.

Advanced Socialist thinkers do not expect any sudden transformation of the present capitalistic state of society into a Social Democracy by the means of a popular revolt or in consequence of a general economic collapse. They do not unduly idealize the proletariat as a creative social factor ready to perform miracles of constructive work when given a fair chance after a violent social upheaval. History does not warrant such an idealization. History does not support the faith of the Socialists of the old school that capitalism is bound to work out, mechanically, so to speak, its own destruction and then to be replaced automatically by Socialism, if no conscientious or conscious endeavor to work in that direction exists on the part of the members of society. History abounds rather in examples of civilizations of thousands of years standing that crumbled like dust and were replaced by barbarism under the stress of social-economic incongruities. Socialism may save our modern civilization from such a fate if consciously inoculated and diligently reared in the midst of the capitalistic society, but not otherwise. The transformation of the capitalistic state into a Socialistic one can be brought about more or less gradually. Socialism has to grow, so to speak, into our present society and permeate its entire system until it absorbs and transforms it into the new order.

Such a conception of the process of the socialization of society does not leave any space, either to optimistic fatalism or to utopian phrase—revolutionism, but is conducive to untiring, immediate work for a gradual realization of the Socialistic ideal. Neither complacent dreams about the future millennium, nor empty phraseology or revolutionary cant can be of any avail to the advanced Socialist conscious of the magnitude and scope of the task before him and of the grave responsibilities connected with it. We have to start the realization of our ideals, as far as our powers reach, in our own time in our present social environment. If we do not succeed in accomplishing much, we will at least lay the foundation on which future generations will build the magnificent structure of Socialistic society.

Fanatics and revolutionary phrasemongers may look idly on our endeavor and soothe their ill-humor by sneering at us as "reformers" engaged in patchwork. They may brag about their uncompromising attitude toward the present society. Our work and the results of our work will be our vindication.

## Debs to Speak

The address to be delivered by Eugene V. Debs at the Social Democratic picnic, July 4, will be printed in full in the Herald for July 13. We will fill bundle orders for that number at 65 cents per 100 copies; \$3 for 500. The address will be a striking departure from the usual order of Fourth of July orations and excellent for propaganda purposes.

## Nebraska State Convention.

To all organized and unorganized Socialists of Nebraska: A state convention will be held at Omaha, Wednesday, July 3, 1901, at 10 o'clock a. m., to which all Socialists believing in Social Democratic principles are invited to be present for the purpose of nominating (1) one Supreme Judge, (2) Regents of the University, and to do other business proper to be done at said convention. All comrades will meet at 1517 Jackson street.

F. H. Alexander, State Sec'y. and Treas.

The committee of arrangements for the Indianapolis convention, representing the Social Democratic party, is J. W. Kelley and William Croke, Marion; M. H. Wefel, Fort Wayne; Geo. Mills and R. Greuling, Indianapolis.

The People's Press, Albany, Oregon, has been made the official organ of the movement in that state. Oregon expects to send a delegate to Indianapolis.

Get Your Tickets Social Democrats for the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, to be held July 4, at the finest picnic park in Chicago—Hoerdt's, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. Make no other engagements for that day. There will be a big program; there will be no better place to spend the Fourth. Get your tickets at the Herald office, 126 Washington street; Spravedlnost office, 700 Loomis street.

## SECRETARIES, TAKE NOTICE

The quarterly dues for the third quarter of 1901 year are payable at headquarters on or before July 5, 1901. It is urged that branch secretaries bring the matter to the attention of the members without delay. The payment of dues is important and should receive prompt attention. Branches expecting to have representation at the national convention must be in good standing. It is desirable that the representation be general and as large as possible; therefore, members are requested to pay past dues and assist the secretaries in putting every branch in good standing on the records.

## NEW BRANCHES

Illinois, 1.  
Pennsylvania, 1.

There will be a special meeting of all comrades interested in the picnic on the Fourth at Dr. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn street, next Monday evening, July 1.

About All cross-town lines north of Car Lines Twenty-sixth street transfer to Western avenue, and the fare to Hoerdt's Park, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues, will be five cents; from North Halsted street transfer to Lincoln cable, then to Roscoe street line, for five cents. Roscoe street line will take you within two blocks of the park.

## Thomas Carlyle on War

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successfully selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge at her own expense has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone, avoidupois. Nevertheless amid much weeping and swearing they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away at the public charge, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted.

And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition and thirty stand fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand.

Straightway the word "fire!" is given, and they blow the souls of one another, and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay in so wide a universe there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton. Their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot!

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## THEODORE DEBS, Secretary Treasurer,

126 Washington Street, Chicago

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TIME Fourth of July, 1901

PLACE Hoerdt's Park, Chicago

LOCATION Western, Belmont and Clybourn aves.

ATTRACTIONS Music, Dancing, Entertainment, Bowling Alleys, Sports, Speeches, Prizes, Refreshments.

SPEAKER:

EUGENE V. DEBS

Subject: "PROGRESS."

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The proceeds of the picnic will be used for benefit of 126 It will be the first benefit the Social Democratic Herald has had in three years. Further particulars will be given in later editions. Get your tickets (25 cents each) and put your shoulder to the wheel. We call upon every comrade to do his duty. All children under twelve, accompanied by parents, admitted free.

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